

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 335 439

UD 028 186

AUTHOR Hill, Robert B.
TITLE Adolescent Male Responsibility in African-American Families.
PUB DATE Mar 88
NOTE 22p.; Paper presented at the National Urban League Conference on Manhood and Fatherhood: Adolescent Male Responsibility in Black Families (Atlanta, GA, March 20-22, 1988).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adolescents; *Blacks; Early Parenthood; *Fathers; *Individual Characteristics; Males; Parenthood Education; *Parent Role; Program Descriptions; *Youth Problems
IDENTIFIERS *African Americans

ABSTRACT

Young black males account for almost half of all unwed fathers. The average black adolescent unwed father is 17 years old at the birth of his first child, comes from an unusually large family, began having sex at an earlier age than other black men, and has had slightly positive educational and employment experiences. Most also exhibit a high degree of personal efficacy despite problems related to fatherhood. Unwed adolescent black fathers also appear to maintain close relationships with the mothers of their children and want to contribute financially to their support. The following barriers to responsible fatherhood are outlined: (1) the shortage of marriageable black men relative to black women; (2) media stereotypes of black men; (3) school pushouts; (4) poor employment patterns; (5) delinquent and criminal activity; and (6) a distorted sense of manhood. The following promising intervention strategies combine sensitive government policies with aggressive community-based initiatives: (1) government initiatives, such as Project Head Start, street academies, and single father employment programs; (2) corporate initiatives, such as school-business partnerships and employment programs; and (3) nonprofit sector initiatives, such as the Services for Young Fathers program (New York, New York) and the Urban League's media campaign to promote responsible sexuality and parenting. A list of 17 references is appended. (FMW)

* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *

ED385439

"ADOLESCENT MALE RESPONSIBILITY
IN AFRICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES"

by

Robert B. Hill, Ph.D.
Research Consultant

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as
received from the person or organization
originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve
reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this docu-
ment do not necessarily represent official
OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

C. Gibson
Natl Urban League

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Prepared for the National Urban League Conference on
"Manhood and Fatherhood: Adolescent Male Responsibility in Black Families"

Atlanta, Georgia, March 20 -22, 1988

VO 028186

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. <u>Black Fathers: Invisible Men?</u>	1
A. Social and Economic Characteristics	2
B. Relations with Children and Teen Mothers	4
II. <u>Barriers to Responsible Fatherhood</u>	6
1. Sex Imbalance	6
2. Media Portrayals of Black Men	7
3. School Pushouts	8
4. Poor Employment Patterns	10
5. Delinquent and Criminal Activity	11
6. Distorted Sense of Manhood	12
III. <u>Promising Intervention Strategies</u>	13
1. Government Initiatives	13
2. Corporate Initiatives	15
3. Non-Profit Sector Initiatives	16
<u>SELECTED REFERENCES</u>	19

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1

I. Black Fathers: Invisible Men?

If there is any group in American society that qualifies most as Ralph Ellison's "Invisible Man," it is Black adolescent fathers. Yet, in recent years, there has been increasing focus on them. Unfortunately, most of this attention has not been generated by an interest to remedy the paucity of social and economic services available to young Black single fathers. On the contrary, it has been stimulated by the concern that these young men totally neglect their out-of-wedlock children, and compel the teenage mothers of these children to rely mainly on public assistance.

But this "invisibility" is not confined to adolescent Black fathers. For, as several scholars (Billingsley, 1968; Gary, 1981; Cazenave, 1979; Conner, 1986) have noted, studies of adult Black fathers--even those who marry and live with their wives, provide support to their children without the need for welfare and are responsible parents--are also sorely lacking in the research literature. In fact, when Black men, regardless of age or parental status, are the focus of attention in American social science, it is invariably as "problems," i.e., deserters, abusers, criminals, dropouts, addicts, gang members, alcoholics and jobless.

Although there is a dearth of empirical research on young unwed fathers, regardless of race, there is much less systematic knowledge about Black single fathers. Thus, what is known about them is anecdotal, unsystematic, fragmented, and uneven. For example, the scant existing research literature suggests that many findings about young White single fathers are not often generalizable to young Black single fathers.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

A. Social and Economic Characteristics

What is known about young Black fathers? Some of the most in-depth studies of Black men in general and Black fathers in particular have been conducted by Howard University's Institute for Urban Affairs and Research. Important insights about Black fathers have also been generated by national-level analyses of such datasets as the National Longitudinal Survey of Young Men, Project Talent, Survey of High School and Beyond and the Current Population Survey.

According to Lerman's (1986) analysis of NLS data for 1984, one-fourth (23%) of Black males 19-27 years old were single (both formerly married and never married) fathers, compared to less than one-tenth (7%) of comparable-aged White males. And, one-fifth (20%) of Black young men were never-married fathers, compared to only 4% of White young men. Moreover, although Blacks comprised 13% of all men 19-27 years old, they accounted for almost half (45%) of all single fathers. While over half (54%) of the Black unwed fathers in 1984 were between the ages of 17-20 when they had their first child, two-thirds (69%) of the White unwed fathers were between the ages of 19-22 when they had their first child.

Black unwed fathers are much less likely to marry than White unwed fathers. Almost half (53%) of White young men who were unwed fathers in 1979 had married by 1984, compared to only one-fourth (25%) of Black unwed fathers. White single fathers are more likely than non-fathers to be school dropouts, to have poor job histories, to use drugs and alcohol and to

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

engage in criminal activities. Similar differences exist between Black fathers and non-fathers, although they are not as large as among Whites.

Hendricks' studies (1979, 1981, 1983) of Black adolescent fathers in three cities also provide unique insights about their characteristics. First of all, these single fathers came from unusually large families. In fact, the families of orientation of these young fathers had an average of five children, compared to only two children in the average Black family. These fathers also began having sex at much earlier ages than most Black young men. While the average Black male between 17-21 years old in the U.S. began sexual activity at age 14, the unwed adolescent fathers in Hendricks' research began at about age 12. On the other hand, the average age of the unwed fathers at the birth of their first child was 17 years.

Surprisingly, the adolescent fathers in Hendricks' studies had somewhat positive educational and employment experiences. Despite the fact that they were between the ages of 16-21, half of them had completed 12 or more years of school, while half were currently employed. Moreover, three out of five Black unwed fathers were reared in two-parent families. On the other hand, the siblings of these young fathers were also prone to become unwed parents. Half of them had a sister who was an unwed mother, while one-third of them had a brother who was an unwed father.

Contrary to the popular belief that most Black young fathers do not feel in control of their lives, the adolescent fathers in Hendricks' surveys exhibited a high degree of personal efficacy. Over eight out of ten unwed fathers agreed with the statements, "Do you feel that what happens to

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

you is your own doing?" (88%) and "When you make plans, do you feel that you're almost certain that you can make them work?" (84%).

On the other hand, over half of the unwed fathers disagreed with the statements, "Do you feel that you can do very little to change your life?" (53%) and "Do you feel that it is mostly luck if one succeeds or gets ahead?" (63%). Nevertheless, these single fathers acknowledged having problems in such areas as parenting, financial responsibilities, employment, school and relations with their girl friends. And the overwhelming majority of them indicated that they would turn first to their mothers and other family members about their problems.

B. Relations with Children and Teen Mothers

Perhaps, the most controversial issue relating to young single fathers is the amount of support they provide to their out-of-wedlock children and to the teenage mothers of those children. National and local data consistently reveal that the overwhelming majority of adolescent mothers, regardless of race, do not receive regular support payments for their children. But, it is not known whether such payments are not made primarily because the young fathers feel no obligation to support their children or because they feel financially unable to do so.

Although the evidence is far from conclusive, the few research investigations in this area have found that the bonds between young fathers and adolescent mothers are not casual and that most of the fathers feel an obligation to provide cash or in-kind support for their children.

A nationwide study of 400 unwed teen fathers by the Bank Street College in New York revealed that 82% reported having daily contact with their children, and 74% said they contributed financially to the child's support. And 90% claimed an ongoing relationship with the mother. Furstenberg's longitudinal survey of Black adolescent mothers in Baltimore revealed that more than half reported receiving some financial assistance from the father during the first year of the child's life. A study by Sandra Danziger of the University of Michigan also found strong continuing relationships between adolescent mothers and the fathers of their children (Savage, 1987).

Hendricks' studies of Black adolescent fathers revealed that between 60-90% of them perceived their relationship with the teenage mothers to be one of love--before and after the birth of their children. Moreover, they overwhelmingly reported that the teenage mothers also perceived of their relationship as one of love--before and after the birth of their children. Ethnographic research by Mercer Sullivan of the Vera Institute in New York also found strong bonds between adolescent mothers and young fathers in inner-city areas. McAdoo's (1983) study of 300 single Black mothers also reported that 70% of them had maintained some contact with the fathers of their children. These findings suggest that the bonds between young fathers and adolescent mothers are strong and not casual, but that they may weaken over time as they get older.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

II. Barriers to Responsible Fatherhood

Although research indicates that the overwhelming majority of young Black single fathers want to be responsible parents, it is equally clear that most of them are not able to perform that role adequately. What are some of the barriers to responsible fatherhood among young Black men? As many scholars have noted, most of these impediments are also faced by Black men in general, regardless of age or parental status.

1. Sex Imbalance

A demographic factor that contributed markedly to the sharp rise in Black female-headed families over the past decade and a half has been the shortage of men relative to women (Jackson, 1971). Although single-parent families grew at about the same pace among Blacks and Whites during the '70's, Black women has much lower remarriage rates than White women because of the greater unavailability of marriageable Black men.

Although there are larger numbers of males to females among Blacks at birth, the sex ratio is widest during their prime working years. Among persons 25-44 years old, there are only 85 Black men for every 100 Black women, while there are about equal numbers of White men and women in that age category. However, when one corrects for the disproportionate census undercount of Black men, the gap narrows markedly to about 96 Black men for every 100 Black women between the ages of 25-44.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Yet, a shortage of marriageable Black men continues to exist because, as McGhee (1984) observed, inner-city Black men must run a "gauntlet" that involves: high rates of unemployment, underemployment, drug addiction, delinquency, school dropouts, crime, arrests, disability, homicides and suicides. Stewart and Scott (1978) attribute this sex imbalance to "institutional decimation," i.e., the disproportionate elimination of Black men from productive sectors of the society by "benign" processes in all American institutions. Kunjufu (1985, 1986) contends that this "conspiracy" against Black men begins during their childhood to insure that when they reach adulthood, they are "socially, physically and politically impotent."

2. Media Portrayals of Black Men

The conventional media portrayal of Black men as street hustlers, drug pushers, pimps, delinquents, violent gang members, incarcerated felons, ex-convicts, and irresponsible husbands and fathers has a devastating impact on the ability of young Black men to develop positive images of manhood and fatherhood. Since Black young people are exposed disproportionately to TV and other forms of the media, their self-concepts can be affected markedly by the depiction of Black people (Hare, 1988).

Such media portrayals also reinforce stereotypes among Whites about widespread criminality among young Black men. Consequently, many Whites--and Blacks--felt that Bernard Goetz was "justified" in shooting unarmed Black youths on a New York subway. Similarly, White youths in Howard Beach, New York felt "justified" in attacking young Black men who passed through

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

their neighborhood on the way home from work, because these Black youths "must have been up to no good." And a columnist for the Washington Post explained how it was "justifiable" for store owners to bar any Black young men from coming into their stores. This column so infuriated Blacks in Washington, D.C. that it helped to stimulate a community-wide effort to "recall" the Post's Sunday magazine.

3. School Pushouts

As numerous studies have shown, many formal and informal policies and practices of American school systems have disparate adverse effects on Black children in general, but Black boys in particular. Kunjufu (1985) has underscored the significance of the "fourth grade failure syndrome, i.e., the process by which the enthusiasm that Black boys have for school and learning during the first three grades is dissipated by the fourth. He attributes this decline in male academic performance to a combination of factors: inferior education in inner-city schools, lack of culturally relevant content in the curriculum, too few male teachers in elementary schools, parenting deficiencies, peer pressure and the mass media.

Thus, as Black boys progress through school, they become "behavior" problems. When their "hyperactivity" is misconstrued as "rebellion," they are often shunted to slower tracks, to special education or to antiquated vocational education courses. Such boys are at high risk of truancy or dropping out. They are also disparately suspended and expelled from school. Gibbs (1984) underscored this dilemma in the following observations:

... (such) black students have attitudinal or behavioral problems which school administrators and teachers are either unwilling or unable to deal with effectively. Lack of communication between parents and school authorities, as well as prevailing community attitudes toward the schools, probably contribute to bureaucratic inflexibility, student alienation and hostility in a continuously escalating cycle of mistrust and maladaptive behavior (1984: 7).

Hare (1988) contends that American educational institutions "structurally determine" the disadvantaged positions of Blacks (and low-income groups) in the occupational hierarchy through conscious and unconscious differential adverse treatment from elementary school through college:

Given racism as well as sexism and classism in a stratified America, it has been posited that the disproportional allocation of black Americans, women and people of lower-class-origin to the lowest labor slots is functional, and that their relative academic failure is essential to getting the job done. For example, such procedures as differentially allocating girls to home economics and sewing courses, lower-class youngsters to slower tracts, and black children to compensatory programs are common school practices with long-term educational and occupational implications. Thus, it is

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

argued that structured educational failure legitimizes job discrimination while eliminating legal recourse--one cannot successfully sue an employer for failing to give a desired job if one arrives relatively unqualified (1988: 87).

4. Poor Employment Patterns.

Indeed, disproportionate numbers of Black youths are not equipped to perform adequately in many entry-level jobs. First of all, between one-fourth and one-half of Black youths in many inner-city schools do not even complete high school. Furthermore, because of social promotion, sizable numbers of those who do graduate are functionally illiterate. Thus, it comes as no surprise that while White youths, 16-19 years old had an unemployment rate of 15% in 1987, Black teenagers had a jobless rate of 36%--37% among males and 35% among females. When discouraged workers are added to these official figures, according to the National Urban League's Hidden Unemployment Index, the actual jobless rate for Blacks 16-19 years soars to about 50% across the nation. Consequently, in many poverty areas of inner-cities, between 65%-90% of Black teenagers who want work are actually unemployed.

Unfortunately, many Black youths with good educational skills also have high rates of unemployment. In fact, Black youths with some college education often have jobless rates about as high as White youths who are high school dropouts. Several studies have found that these patterns hold whether Black youths live inside or outside the inner-cities.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

5. Delinquent and Criminal Activity

Depression-level joblessness among Black young men induces sizable numbers of them to engage in illegal activities, especially in the underground economy. The sharp increase of crack and other drugs in Black communities has contributed to a marked rise in individual and gang violence and homicides among Black youths. Since juveniles are likely to receive less severe sentences than adults, younger and younger Black youths are being recruited as drug pushers, runners, messengers, etc. Many police officials report child recruits as young as 8-10 years old. Moreover, violence has become so commonplace in many inner-cities that Black children are killing other children over jackets, caps, eyeglasses, gold chains, "boxes," etc.

However, numerous studies have shown that many Black young men need not participate in any criminal activity in order to be stopped, questioned, detained, booked and jailed. This is why it is estimated that between 50%-75% of Black male youths in many inner-city areas have police arrest or "contact" records. The disproportionate contact of Black young with the criminal justice system contributes to their overrepresentation in correctional institutions. Although Blacks comprise 12% of the U.S. population, they account for one-fourth of the arrestees and one-half of the prisoners in state facilities.

Disproportionate arrests, convictions and incarceration of Black men contribute markedly to the formation of Black female-headed families. Male criminal offenders are less available as marriage partners because: (a)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

their police records are major barriers to legitimate employment; (b) their low educational skills preclude them from all but the most menial jobs; (c) their periodic court appearances prevent them from obtaining or maintaining steady work, and (d) incarceration at faraway prison facilities keeps them from their wives, girlfriends and children for long periods of time.

6. Distorted Sense of Manhood

Another major barrier to the development of positive fathers among many Black young males is their distorted sense of manhood. Many inner-city youths feel that they can achieve "manhood" by joining violent gangs, participating in criminal activities or by making a girl pregnant. This image of manhood is perpetuated widely by shows on TV and in the movies that glamorize crime, drugs and sex. Moreover, societal norms make it acceptable for men to be unfaithful to women, but not vice versa.

This distortion of manhood, as Kunjufu observes, is also perpetuated by dysfunctional child-rearing patterns in the Black community. Black boys are often encouraged to engage in "male" activities, such as basketball, football, fighting with peers, not doing too well academically, and having girlfriends at early ages, while Black girls are encouraged in "female" pursuits, such as dancing, cooking, not fighting with peers, doing well academically and not having boyfriends at early ages. Furthermore, to insulate their Black male children from the devastating effects of racism, many mothers react by making them overdependent. The expectation that they will receive the same coddling from their girlfriends and wives often leads to marital strife.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

III. Promising Intervention Strategies

What is being done to assist Black young men to overcome many of these barriers to responsible manhood and fatherhood? First of all, the most appropriate strategies are those that combine sensitive government policies with aggressive community-based initiatives targeted to young men, especially in inner-cities. Such efforts should build on the numerous programs that have succeeded in reducing adolescent pregnancy and enhancing the social and economic functioning of teenage mothers and their children. Although most of the programs targeted to young Black single fathers are still in their infancy, they provide hope that many of the obstacles confronting young fathers can be effectively combatted--if all sectors of this society makes a genuine commitment to do so.

1. Government Initiatives

In the educational arena, government-funded early intervention programs, notably Head Start, have had long-term positive effects on hundreds of Black and low-income children. Unfortunately, because of funding limitations, Head Start has not been able to reach more than one out of four low-income children who are eligible. Nevertheless, the educational and occupational attainment of many Black youths has been markedly enhanced by sensitive early intervention educational programs--that have had sustained follow-through in the higher grades.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Studies of effective schools by scholars, such as Ronald Edmonds and James Comer, have shown that it is possible for public schools in inner-cities to provide quality education to low-income minority children. Examples of such schools that "achieve against all odds" abound throughout the nation. Moreover, the sharp rise in sex education courses and family planning counseling in public schools has provided thousands of young people with more accurate knowledge about male and female sexuality than they have learned from the streets.

Many inner-city schools have also targeted special programs to reduce school dropouts by adapting the "street academy" concept developed by the New York Urban League in the late 1960's. In fact, Harlem Prep and the Washington, D.C. Street Academy were formally "adopted" by their local school systems. Street academies, as well as Jobs Corps, provide an alternative array of basic education, employability development and supportive services to youths at risk of dropping out of school.

To increase child support collections for adolescent single mothers, many states have developed innovative employment programs targeted to young fathers. For example, the Teen Alternative Parenting Program in Indianapolis, Indiana seeks to enhance the educational, employment and parenting skills of young single fathers. This program was developed in cooperation with JTPA Private Industry Councils to insure that the job skills acquired by these young fathers were relevant for the current needs of industry. Other states with employability programs directed to young single fathers include: California, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon and Washington State.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

2. Corporate Initiatives

Since the late 1960's, large numbers of corporations have set up a wide range of programs to aid the "hard core" unemployed. Firms like IBM, Control Data, and Lockheed demonstrated that commitment by establishing plants in inner-city communities. Other companies, such as Chemical Bank in New York, the Chrysler Institute in Michigan, Cummings Engine in Indiana and the Borg-Warner Corporation in Illinois, have had programs to train disadvantaged adults and youths for entry-level positions for at least two decades. The policy statement, Children in Need, issued by the Committee for Economic Development (1987), underscores the commitment of the private sector to develop comprehensive investment strategies for economically and educationally disadvantaged children and youth.

Businesses are developing partnerships with schools and communities to combine their resources more efficiently to facilitate the transition from school to work for many inner-city youths. For example, Rich's, one of the oldest department stores in Atlanta, Ga, set up Rich's Academy six years ago as an alternative school for disadvantaged youths. Many firms have established Adopt-a-School or Adopt-a-Student programs to insure sustained contact with students or schools in low-income communities. And emulating the efforts of Eugene Lang in New York City, corporate philanthopists in many other cities have provided financial incentives to encourage inner-city youths to complete high school as well as to go on to college.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

3. Non-Profit Sector Initiatives

A broad array of approaches in the non-profit sector are being directed to young minority men in general and single fathers in particular. Many of these efforts are extensions of programs targeted to adolescent mothers. Many national voluntary associations, such as YWCA's, Boys Clubs, Junior League, and various Protestant, Catholic and Jewish service organizations, etc., are placing increased emphasis on meeting the needs of young single fathers. For example, the Services for Young Fathers program is operated jointly by the YWCA and the Vocational Foundation in New York City. This program provides vocational and employment training and parent responsibility counseling to 16-25 year-old fathers who are not providing cash support for their children. The Medical College of Pennsylvania Hospital operates its Teen Fathers Program to provide family planning information and individual counseling to young single fathers.

Numerous minority national organizations have also expanded their outreach efforts to single Black fathers. To mobilize the resources of national-level Black groups to combat the crisis among Black families, the National Urban League and the NAACP co-sponsored the Black Family Summit at Fisk University from May 3-5, 1984. Numerous spin-off conferences have been held by coalitions of Black organizations at the state, county and city levels. As an outgrowth of the Black Family Summit, the National Urban League launched a widely-acclaimed media campaign to promote responsible sexuality and parenting on the part of young Black men and single fathers.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

To complement its adolescent pregnancy prevention programs directed to teen mothers, the Nation Urban League encouraged its affiliates to develop programs targeted to young fathers or those at risk of becoming single fathers. Some of the Urban League affiliates with prevention or parenting programs for young men are in such cities as Albany (N.Y.), Alton (Ill.), Baltimore, Boston, Charlotte, Chicago, Milwaukee, Peoria, Springfield (Ill.), St. Louis, and Winston-Salem, N.C.

Other national groups that have developed programs to aid young Black men and fathers include: NAACP, Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), National Black Child Development Institute, National Association of Black Social Workers, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Concerned Black Men, National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, the Children's Defense Fund, etc.

Many innovative approaches to aiding young Black men and single fathers have been developed by neighborhood self-help groups--not affiliated with national organizations. Numerous such programs were designed as part of delinquency and crime prevention strategies. For example, the House of Umoja was founded during the late 1960's by Sister Falaka Fattah and her husband, David, as a way of reducing widespread gang violence in Philadelphia. Other creative crime prevention groups include: the Inner-City Roundtable of Youth (ICRY) in New York City; the International Youth Organization in Newark, N.J.; Youth-in-Action in Chester, Pa; Youth Enterprise Society (SEY YES) in Los Angeles, California, and Family Helpline in Los Angeles, California.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Other grassroots efforts directed to young Black men include: the Teen Father Program in Cleveland; the Black Fatherhood Collective in Brooklyn, New York; the Fifth Ward Enrichment Program in Houston, Texas; the Teenage Pregnancy and Parenting Program in San Francisco, California; College Here We Come in Washington, D.C., and numerous efforts undertaken by public housing resident management corporations. Many churches have also expanded their efforts to reach young Black men. Some of the notable programs in this area undertaken by religious institutions include: the Male Youth Project at Shiloh Baptist Church in Washington, D.C.; Project Image's Teen Fathers Program sponsored by a consortium of churches in Chicago; the Rites of Passage Program at Union Temple Baptist Church in Washington, D.C., and many, many other such efforts.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SELECTED REFERENCES

- Billingsley, Andrew (1985), Black Families in White America. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc.
- Cazenave, Noel A. (1979), "Middle-Income Black Fathers: An Analysis of the Provider Role," The Family Coordinator, 28: 583-593.
- Connor, Michael E. (1986), "Black Dads--Here They Are!" Unpublished paper.
- Gary, Lawrence (1981), (ed.) Black Men. Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage
- Gibbs, Jewelle T. (1984), "Black Adolescents and Youth: An Endangered Species," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 54 (1), Jan., 6-20..
- Hare, Bruce (1988), "Black Youth at Risk," The State of Black America: 1988. New York: National Urban League, 81-93.
- Hendricks, Leo (1979), "Unwed Adolescent Fathers: Problems They Encounter And The Ways They Deal With Them, Columbus, Ohio Sample," Washington, D.C.: Institute for Urban Affairs and Research, Howard University, December
- Hendricks, Leo (1981), "Black Unwed Adolescent Fathers," in L. Gary (ed.) Black Men. Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage Publications, 131-138.
- Hendricks, Leo (1983), "Suggestions for Reaching Unmarried Black Adolescent Fathers," Child Welfare, LXII (2), March/April, 141-146.
- Hendricks, Leo and Cleopatra Howard (1979), "Young Unwed Fathers: Problems They Face And The Ways They Handle Them, Chicago, Illinois Sample," Washington, D.C.: Institute for Urban Affairs and Research, Howard University, November
- Jackson, Jacquelyne J. (1971), "But Where are the Men?" The Black Scholar, December, 30-41.
- Kunjufu, Jawanza (1985), Countering The Conspiracy to Destroy Black Boys. Chicago, Ill: African American Images
- Kunjufu, Jawanza (1986), Countering The Conspiracy to Destroy Black Boys. Vol. II. Chicago, Ill: African American Images
- Lerman, Robert L. (1986), "A National Profile of Young Unwed Fathers: Who Are They and How Are They Parenting?" October, Unpublished Paper.
- McGhee, James D. (1984), "Running the Gauntlet: Black Men in America," Washington, D.C.: National Urban League Research Department.
- Savage, Barbara D. (1987), "Child Support and Teen Parents," Washington, D.C.: Children's Defense Fund.
- Stewart, James B. and Joseph W. Scott (1978) "The Institutional Decimation of Black American Males," Western Journal of Black Studies, Summer, 2, 82-92

BEST COPY AVAILABLE